

The Principia.

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

VOL. II.—No. 1.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1860.

WHOLE-NUMBER, 53.

The Principia.

Published Weekly, at 339 Pearl Street, (two doors above *Harper's Buildings*) New-York.

WILLIAM GOODSELL, Editor.

SAMUEL WILDE, Proprietor.

TERMS: One Dollar a year, in advance.

Direct business letters, with remittances, to

MELANCTHON B. WILLIAMS, Publishing Agent,

as above.

PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound morals, Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, duties, business arrangements, and aims of life;—to the individual, the family, the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine Law; our expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promise; our panoply, the whole armor of God.

—Editors friendly, please copy, or notice.

THE BIBLE ABOLITIONIST;

Containing the Testimony of the Scriptures against Slavery, and the Scriptural method of treating it.

"To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Isa. viii. 20. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. That the man of God might be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." II. Tim. iii. 16-17.

PART I.

FOUNDATION FACTS AND FIRST PRINCIPLES.

CHAPTER I.—SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD.

The Scriptures affirm certain leading facts and first principles, which lie at the foundation of all true religion and sound morals.

These great truths have respect, among other things, to the nature, and the relations, the responsibilities, the duties, the privileges, and the rights of human beings, in their connection and intercourse with each other, and under the laws of their Creator, to whose authority they are all, equally, subject, and at whose tribunal they must all, alike, render an account of their deeds.

These great truths, principles, and facts, furnish the test by which all human opinions, propensities, acts, habits, customs, usages, statutes, institutions, compacts, arrangements, and governments must be tried. Whatever is in harmony with them is to be approved and maintained. Whatever is at variance with them is to be condemned and overturned. Their authority is the same as the authority of the great God, who proclaims them, who declares his own character to be in harmony with them, and his law to be founded upon them.

To some of these foundation facts and first principles, we shall now, briefly refer, as a guide for some inquirers concerning American Slavery, and the duties resting on the American people and their Government, in respect to it.

I. THE SUPREMACY OF GOD—THE PARAMOUNT AUTHORITY OF HIS LAW.

Among a people claiming to be enlightened and christian, it might seem needless to spend time and to occupy space, in affirming and maintaining this principle. But a loud clamor has been raised against it. Even prominent teachers of religion have maintained, in opposition to it, that while the law of God is our rule in respect to the duties of the first table (our duties to God) yet the civil law must be our rule in respect to the duties of the second table, relating to our fellow men. And, in many instances, where the sentiment is not openly avowed, it is substantially and practically held.

But the Scriptures, every where affirm the paramount authority of God over Nations and their Rulers. They condemn all unjust and cruel enactments, and forbid all men to assist in the execution of them, or to refrain from acts of

mercy and humanity on account of them. The godly women of Egypt who refused to destroy the Hebrew male children, but disobeyed the despotic edict by showing them mercy, were signally honored and rewarded by the God of the Bible; while those who assisted the despot in the execution of his inhuman edicts, or who, even in their domestic retirement, assented, silently, to them, were visited with a series of plagues, and were at length, signally destroyed by Him. Scripture history and prophecy, are made the burden of similar teachings and admonitions, for the benefit of all ages and nations. God's paramount authority over the political world is emblazoned on the pages of Scripture, from Genesis to the Apocalypse, and the world's history affords ample and unequivocal illustrations of its truthfulness.

"But the midwives feared God, and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them, but saved the men-children alive." "Therefore God dealt well with the midwives." Ex. 1. 17-20.

"And Saul answered, God do so, and more also, for thou shalt surely die, Jonathan. And the people said unto Saul, shall Jonathan die, who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel! God forbid. As the Lord liveth there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground, for he hath wrought with God this day. So the people rescued Jonathan that he died not." I Sam. 14. 44-45.

"Shadrach, Meshack, and 'Abennago answered and said to the king, O, Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee, in this matter. If it be so, our God whom we serve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thy hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up." Dan. iii. 16-18.

"Then Peter and the other apostles answered and said we ought to obey God rather than men." Acts v. 29.

"Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with which frameth mischief by a law." Ps. 94-20.

"The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed; Saying, Let us break their bands asunder and cast away their cords from us. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision."

"Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces, like a potters vessel." Ps. 2.-24. 9. (See the whole Psalm.)

"Let men say, among the nations, the Lord reigneth." I. Chron. 16. 31.

"For the Kingdom is the Lord's and he is governor among the nations." Ps. 22. 28.

"He ruleth by his power forever. His eyes behold the nations. Let not the rebellious exalt themselves." Ps. 66. 7.

"And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people." Isa. 2. 4.

"For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish: yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted." Isa. 60. 12.

"That the nations may tremble at thy presence." Isa. 64. -2.

"O God, plead my cause against an ungodly nation." Ps. 43 -1.

"But thou shalt say, unto them, this is the nation that obeyeth not the voice of the Lord their God." Jer. 7.-28.

"But if they will not obey, I will utterly pluck up, and destroy that nation, saith the Lord."—Jer. 12. 17.

"At what instant I shall speak, concerning a nation and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up and to pull down, and to destroy it. If that nation against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil

which I thought to do unto them.—And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a Kingdom, to build and to plant it, if it do evil in my sight that it obey not my voice, then will I repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them." Jer. 18. 7-10.

"I will punish the king of Babylon and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and make it perpetual desolations." Jer. 25.-12.

It would be easy to multiply quotations, in proof that, according to the Scriptures, the law of God, is binding upon Civil Governments and Nations, that its authority is paramount to all human compacts and enactments, and that individuals are bound thus to regard and honor it, whatever may be the pains and penalties inflicted by despotic Governments upon them, for non-compliance with their wicked mandates. All persecutions and martyrdoms under ungodly rulers are attestations to this truth. All religious liberty and all civil liberty are founded upon it. And the pretense that our duties to our fellow-men may be abrogated by the civil ruler is set aside by the consideration that our duties to men are duties to God, (the Father and protector of men) who enjoins them; as well as by the fact that the severest prophetic denunciations are levelled against both Nations and Rulers for the sin of oppression, and even for tolerating its existence.

Of this, we shall find abundant evidence, as we proceed.

The following Letter and Reply were written some months ago, and consequently speak of the then pending Presidential Election and prospects. They have been crowded out by other matter, but the beginning of our new volume is a good place for them:—

THE PRINCIPIA, AND LIGHT ON THE CONSTITUTION—HOW TO CIRCULATE AND DIFFUSE THEM.

TO THE EDITOR AND SUBSCRIBERS OF THE PRINCIPIA:

FRIENDS OF FREEDOM:—Whether the suggestion which I am about to make to you will be considered a sensible one or not, I cannot tell; if I did not think it wise, I am certain I would not make it.

Before proceeding to this point directly, however, if I may be indulged, I believe, I shall gratify myself, if no one else, by saying a word with regard to the *PRINCIPIA*. Possibly I may encourage its excellent Editor, and do something for the great common cause.

The first knowledge which I received of the existence of this paper, I obtained from Dr. Cheever, who sent me a copy of it, and asked whether I could not do something for its circulation in Western Ohio.

The country is so full of newspapers, that I thought at once I should not concern myself much about circulating "*The Principia*," unless, by future examination of the paper, I should be convinced that it was a paper of considerable merit. I sent on a dollar immediately to the Publisher, and ordered a paper for myself, to see what its general character is. I have been reading it now for two or three months. I take several papers regularly, and have access to a number of others. I read some good papers, and I will say for the *PRINCIPIA* that it is one of the best papers that comes into my hands. It is not the largest paper, though it is large enough for the price; but it shows a degree of care, and concern for the character of the paper, which I have never seen excelled on the part of any Editor. Nothing is done in a loose way—no matter thrown in with a careless hand. I think I have never read a paper which showed deeper thought, and more earnest application on the part of the Editor. Great ability characterizes every column, Editorial and others. This speaks well for all connected with the paper. I find that when important propositions are laid down to be established, they are dealt with with a master hand. The reasoning on such usually exhibits a clearness, a candor, and a depth, rarely excelled anywhere. As to the object of the paper, certainly no paper in the world is established for a more noble object than that of the *Principia*. I think the circulation of this little sheet—whether that circulation be already great or small—worthy to be extended. I may not send in a single additional subscriber,—I cannot tell how that may be; but if I do not, I am determined that the fault shall not rest with me, for my intention is to do something for this paper, if I can.

Fellow subscribers.—can we not, each one, put the *Principia*

into the hands of one new subscriber, all round, and thus double the subscription? I suppose our friend Goodell will not object to that sort of business. Would you, Mr. Editor; or do you think you could work off that many more papers? I think we will try you; and, if you cannot, why you can just refund the money and we will make the best use we can of it. (1)

But the "suggestion" is this:—In No. 36, July 21, is an article under "The Compromises of the Constitution." It is an argument to prove the Anti-slavery character of the Constitution. This very argument is just the thing that is needed, and should be put into the hands of every voter. (2)

Now, I have long been in the midst of Republicans. The great majority of my acquaintances and friends are Republicans, and I know pretty well what the Republicans really are. Though I find there is an important difference between my own political opinions and the creed of that party, yet I have a good word to say for Republicans generally, wherever I have become acquainted with them individually. I find them good Anti-slavery men at heart. I believe that this day the majority of them hate slavery, and loathe the institution as deeply as any Abolitionist in our country; and they would go with just as much zeal for the total abolition of the evil, and in the same way, and using the same means, if only they had a little more light on this subject. As to Scriptural arguments against slavery, and all others aside from the Constitution, no skill and ability can exceed theirs in the use of these; and I find them defending the Constitution, too, with no mean ability. But still there seems to be a point which they do not quite reach yet. They hate slavery; they would like to put it down; and they think, too, that the Constitution is in some way an Anti-slavery document,—they believe it is Anti-slavery, and will say it is; but still they think, after all, that the slaveholder has some kind of right under this same Constitution—no one could ever tell me exactly what it is—to hold his slave, and this Constitution could not be wielded in such a manner as to come in contact with slavery in the States and abolish it there. (3) I am not speaking of political leaders, though I doubt not many of them stand exactly as the large class of private individuals of which I speak more particularly. (4)

My opinion is, that the great mass of Republican voters want very little to raise their opinions to the highest Anti-slavery ground that is occupied in this country, and the great hope of the Anti-slavery cause is, at last, in that party. (5) Party shackles cannot forever bind the intelligent and well-meaning thousands of this great organization to the present policy of the party to refrain from touching the institution of slavery where it is already established.

The public feeling is aroused; the masses of the American people are seeking after truth; truth will not forever hide itself from this people; they will see, ere long, that there is a just and justifiable position against American slavery which no party in power has ever yet taken; a little more light, and the Republican party will discover this fact; it will see, as it almost sees now, that the Constitution is its irresistible weapon—will seize this weapon, and, turning it against the vile institution in the South, will exterminate the curse from the land. (6) True, that party is not yet in power; but if it continues to gather strength as it has done in the past, it will have perfect possession of the Government, and that, too, before long. (7) If I may be allowed to express myself, my opinion is, that these Republicans never can be retrained, but have got to be wholesaled. The object will be accomplished, eventually—not by drawing the necessary number of men from the party, one by one, but by changing the position of the party; the whole must be moved together. I believe this can be done, and I believe it will be done, eventually. I think it easier to change the thousands of this party, and work a revolution in its platform, than to change and draw off a few scores of its individual voters. (8)

But how is this to be done? Just as all other revolutions for the better are brought about:—Present the necessary propositions before the people; with these, present the arguments and proofs establishing them; our people are a reading people; let them have a chance to read and reflect—let them have light—let them have a little time then, and they will act!

True, this will all require some time; but does any one know how we shall go to work and abolish slavery next week? I did not intend to extend my remarks to such an immoderate length; however, the reasons for my suggestion will be now clear to all: By a little modifying, the article referred to, could be converted into a form, admirable for a tract, to be circulated throughout the country. The argument is very plain and conclusive, and it is just what the people want, as I have endeavored to show.

Let the argument be as short as possible; yet, so extended, as to cover the whole Constitution, proving, in the very clear manner that it is here done, that the Constitution is radically Anti-slavery throughout; let a little pains be taken to show how the Constitution is to be used to abolish slavery, but make the argument as brief as possible: let this be put into a tract, then, at as low a price to the friends of the enterprise as the Editor can possibly do it; let each subscriber of the *Principia* agree to take, at this price, ten, twenty, fifty, a hundred, five hundred, or a thousand of these tracts, and scatter them broadcast through the land. I make this suggestion merely to set the matter on foot; I want to hear from the Editor and from others: Can this thing, or something like it, be done? (9) Friends, let us hear from you on this subject.

What I have written, I have done with good motives. I do not claim that it is all necessarily free from error.

Your friend, though a stranger,

WESLEY WILLIAMS.

DELAWARE, Ohio, Aug. 28, 1860.

NOTES IN REPLY TO THE PRECEDING.

Our best thanks are due to our correspondent, WESLEY WILLIAMS, for his friendly and encouraging communication. We cannot more conveniently reply to his various suggestions than by NOTES, corresponding in their numbers, to the same numbers we have marked for reference in his article.

[1.] We think the plan suggested in aid of the circulation of the *Principia* an excellent one, needing only the earnest co-operation of all our subscribers to carry it into successful effect. Yet, as some can do more in that way than others, we recommend that every one should do all they can. We have some subscribers who have added a very considerable number of names to our list. We have no fears of receiving more names than we can supply with papers.

[2.] The article on the Constitution could easily be stereotyped and kept constantly on hand, if that is the article most needed, and if we could have assurance of an extensive demand for it. But, more of this, before we have done.

[3.] We have no doubt that our correspondent's statement concerning the vague views of Republicans concerning the Constitution applies to very large numbers of them, particularly at the West, where the pamphlets, &c., on the Constitution have been less generally circulated than in this State.

[4.] We think the leaders are, in general, better informed on the subject than they are willing to acknowledge. All the members of the last Congress, together with the President, Vice President, Members of the Cabinet, and Judges of the Supreme Court were supplied with Spooner's Unconstitutionality of Slavery, by the American Abolition Society. And the present Republican Members of Congress have been, and still are, furnished with the *Principia* weekly, at the expense of the Proprietor, with exception of two or three who are subscribers, and two or three others who have declined receiving it. The effect of all this is visible, both in what is said and what is not said, now, by our public men. The general policy is to blink the true point at issue, to ignore it, and run round it. More of this, as we proceed.

[5.] One cheering sign of Anti-slavery feeling among the Republicans is the fact, that the strongest and most radical utterances of Republican speakers and orators, in and out of Congress, looking in the direction of Radical Abolition, are most strongly and enthusiastically applauded by their constituents, or by a majority of them, as is witnessed at Republican Meetings, and may be seen in newspaper reports of speeches.

[6.] We do not expect that the Republican party that now is, will take Radical ground. But we do expect that a large part of the Republican party will be dissatisfied with the present platform, and will quit their party leaders and will reorganize, or join the present Liberty Party.

[7.] We think there is a prospect of a Republican victory, but we think it will be done, (and, in fact, is now in process of being secured) by an almost total abandonment of all the anti-slavery issues, before the Country, not excepting the Congressional exclusion of slavery from the Territories. We see evidences that even that low ground is abandoned already, and that the coming Republican victory is to be achieved by the large accessions now making from the Old Conservative Whigs, Know Nothings, and Douglas Democrats, who are attracted by assurances that the Republican victory is to terminate all anti-slavery agitation. These pledges will have to be redeemed. These new allies are to control the policy of the party when in power. The policy by which the victory is gained must be perpetuated, to keep the power in possession. No party ever became less conservative, by coming into power. When was there ever a party that, by coming into power, did not become more conservative?

[8.] We should be glad to see the wholesale conversion our friend predicts. But, for reasons already given, cannot expect to see it done. And there is another reason. The experiment of connecting political parties by wholesale and not by retail, keeping the preachers and the new converts in the party, to "work a revolution in the platform" of the

party, has been tried over and over again, and has always failed. We tried it with the Whig Party. It was afterward tried with the Free Soil Party, then with the Free Democracy, then with the Republican Party. In the State of New York the trial has been a thorough one, has failed each time, and in each succeeding experiment, the results have been worse and worse. Instead of Abolitionists changing the platform of the party, by remaining with it, the party has changed their platform—not indeed the theory, but the practice, which is the main thing. Republicans, with the power of the State in their hands, will not enact a personal Liberty Bill. Why? Not for want of a conviction of the justice and the Constitutional right of enacting it. But for the fear of losing conservative votes. And Radical Abolitionists, in theory, sustain them in doing so! The very men who could write the Tract our friend wants to circulate, as well as any men living, who boast their being "in principle with us" wouldn't vote for a Personal Liberty Bill, wouldn't sign a petition for it, for fear of hurting the Republican party! We have perhaps 50,000 to 100,000 such "Radical Abolitionists" in the State of New York, to-day. They have done helping to circulate our Tracts, as they formerly did, for fear of injuring the Republican party! The Republican leaders would think themselves fools to pass a Personal Liberty bill, or to make their "platform" any more "radical" in consequence of the membership of such "Radical Abolitionists" in their party. They are sure of their support, any how, do what they will, or neglect what they will, all they (the political leaders) have to do is to secure the support of the anti-abolition part of the community, and at this they are working, heartily and effectively. We are speaking of such men as Seward, Weed, and Greeley. No men understand the unconstitutionality of slavery better than they do. No men could argue the matter more clearly or more forcibly than they could and would, if that were the way to get patronage, votes, popularity, and power. In short, the only influence by means of which the Republican platform could be revolutionized by the Abolitionists would be by the withholding of Abolition votes from them, till the change was made. Look at facts. The fear of losing 30 to 50,000 votes compelled Seward to make his "irrepressible conflict" speech. Had the votes been withheld, as they should have been, we should have had from him no conservative speech in Congress to explain away or neutralize the former speech.

But the evil is about reaching its crisis, especially if the Republicans carry their election. It will be seen where they stand, then. In the mean time, the light on the Constitution should be more widely disseminated. The light shining in the State of New York is not lost. The good Providence of God is preparing a place and a use for it, where it will be made effectual, before long. Light, first, the practical use of it, afterward, is the common order of nature. So it is in the physical sciences. So it is in the sciences of Government. Theories are made known first, then the practical application of them. So also in theological and moral science. "This will require time," as our correspondent says. But it will be done. And his plan is an important one.

[9.] The question is, how large a tract or pamphlet should be provided? The article in the *Principia* of July 21, referred to by our correspondent, would make a cheap tract. And it covers all the articles of the whole Constitution claimed to be the pro-slavery "Compromises of the Constitution." If so "modified" as to "cover the Constitution" with its securities for freedom, its Federal powers over slavery, with the methods of using them, the size would be very greatly enlarged. We once had a Tract, now out of print, on "the Constitutional power and duty of the Federal Government to abolish slavery in the States." This, if best, could be republished. After trying several experiments at circulating needed information, from Spooner's work, 75 cents, down to a two cent tract, finding some too expensive, and others incomplete, we think we have hit on the best, the most satisfactory compend that we know how to produce, in OUR NATIONAL CHARTERS, retailed at 12 cents, or with postage 15 cents, &c., &c. See advertisement.

We have found nothing, whether larger or smaller, that gave equal satisfaction to most readers. Instead of quoting parts of the Constitution, it gives the whole, so that the reader can see whether anything has been kept back. Then the

previous articles of Confederation, the Declaration of Independence, and the still earlier articles of Association, all given in full, successfully silence all pretended historical evidence that the Constitution does not mean what it says, but means the opposite!

By publishing those invaluable documents in full, with other matter in the pamphlet, we give the reader much that he never saw before, and which he could not conveniently find, any where else. And this complete publication of them affords opportunity to comment upon all parts of them, in our Notes, prepared with great labor, so that no phase of the subject, scarcely, fails to come under notice. We invite the strictest attention of our friend to it, after which, we shall be happy to receive further suggestions from him. Aside from the notes, no voting citizen should be without the documents, and where else could they, so cheaply, be procured?

For the Principia.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY.

NUMBER XVIII.

To make the National Constitution appear a pro-slavery instrument was a work of time and pains. A pro-slavery national education was needed for the purpose. The interests of slavery required that the clause relating to fugitive servants should take immediate effect as a remedy against slave desertion. This would give employment to the Federal Judiciary. But never till the Prigg case in 1842, when the Constitution had been in operation more than half a century, did a question under that clause come before a Federal court. A very significant fact! To make the clause apply to slaves the Supreme Court had to "clear the case of difficulty." We use the Court's own words. What was the difficulty? The clause did not mention slaves, and to make the "difficulty" worse, the clause described a class from whom service is due and who are held to service under State laws. But as slave service is not due, in any sense and as slaves are held to service not under laws but under whips, the clause would not apply to them. Had there been State enactments requiring slave service, the Constitutions even of the slave States could not have recognized those enactments as State laws. How then could the national Constitution recognize them? Here was "difficulty." How did the Court get over it?

By disregarding the terms of the clause, and interpreting "historically." In order to do this it was compelled to assume fictitious history, for the true history would have given as much "difficulty" as the clause itself. The true history was this. When the framing convention had been in session three months, and was near its close, a southern member proposed a clause for delivering up "fugitive slaves and servants." The proposition was objected to, and withdrawn. The same member the next day proposed a clause for delivering up persons "bound to service or labor." This was agreed to, without debate, and with some verbal modification became a part of the Constitution. The people ratified the clause as they found it, without knowing that the rendition of slaves had been thought of, within the closed doors of the Convention. Such history did not favor a perversion. We do not forget the fugitive slave Act of 1793. That Act is one of the *prima facie* arguments which have been seized upon, to support pro-slavery construction. Politicians, instead of testing the Act by the Constitution, have expounded the Constitution by the Act! We will, for once, do the same, assuming that the people are the true sovereigns and rightful expounders of their own Constitution, and that any practical exposition to be entitled to regard must proceed from them. How did the people treat the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793? Did they give it prompt effect? Not they. This they would have done, had they been pro-slavery enough to authorize the Act by a pro-slavery Constitution. But the Act took no effect for many years, and was always so inefficient as to require an amendment to give it force. Now, mark the fact that the slave power, dominating as it was, did not venture to demand the amendment till 1850, or fifty-seven years after the Act was passed. And even now, the Act is generally defeated by the repugnance of the people. Does all this look as if they had ratified a fugitive slave clause?

The notion of a political obligations distinct from moral

obligation and binding us to the cruelty of delivering up fugitive slaves, is absurd and mischievous. It is true we often speak of political obligations as distinct from other obligations. But so we do of personal obligations, parental obligations, social obligations, and religious obligations, without implying that any of them are not moral obligations. All obligations are imposed by the universal law of moral right, and by no possibility can anything be politically right which is morally wrong. Talk you of the obligations of honor and good faith? Honor and good faith have right for their basis and right for their end. Our political compact is either a righteous compact or an unrighteous one. If it is a righteous one, it cannot favor injustice. If it is unrighteous, there is no ground of faith in it, since those who can enter into an unrighteous compact can just as easily violate a righteous one. It is remarkable that those who hold to the pro-slavery character of the Constitution, show very little confidence in it. They do not refer to its preamble as a truthful statement of its objects. Many of them complain of the bad faith of the South. On what ground can they expect good faith? And if they are such men as would carry into effect a provision of injustice, what would their own faith be worth under a temptation to break it?

I. S.

* This notion appears unmistakably in a speech of Hon. Josiah Quincy in the Whig Almanac of 1855.

LETTER FROM REV. J. G. FEE

To the Annual Meeting of the American Missionary Association.

Mr. Fee expected to be present, but was prevented by sickness; he therefore sent this letter. After the letter was read, it was ordered to be printed in the *American Missionary*.

Recent observation and our late expulsion from Kentucky, do not, in any wise, cause me to doubt the wisdom of the radical position of the Am. Miss. Association.

Nay, I am only the more convinced, that an open, direct, and explicit testimony against sin, and, in church relations, a refusal to fellowship such as are engaged in it, is the only wise, efficient, and Heaven approved policy.

The opposite policy of conservatism, has not only been a failure, so far as the great sin of the land (slavery) is concerned, but has even intensified the evil.

The old Boards have claimed that, if they can only go quietly along and spread the Gospel, that will silently kill slavery. Popular sins, entrenched behind law, and panoplied with a popular religion, are not sapped that way. The issue being made, the silence of conservative Boards and their missionaries, is always construed into consent.

I know this is true. Pro-slavery men have often said to me, (calling conservative ministers by name,) "if these good men thought slavery wrong, they would doubtless say so, say so publicly, and enumerate slavery with other publicly denounced sins, for," said these men, "it is the business of ministers to preach against wrong—warn the people, and exhort to the right." Silence is construed into consent. Conservatism has not only prolonged the life of slavery, but has widened its area, and intensified its bitterness and cruelty.

The silence of conservatism, is a declaration that the rebuke of slavery is no part of the work of preaching the Gospel, and that those men who do teach that slavery is inconsistent with the Gospel, and should not be fellowshiped in Christian churches, are fanatics, innovators, disturbers of the peace of Zion, and dangerous to society. The mobocrats, go to the work of expurgating society, by casting out men who bear testimony against an iniquity that cannot endure the concentrated light of God's word, clothed with a kind of religious sanctity—conservatism has licensed them to do so.

The Reign of Terror in the South has been fostered by the silent policy of conservative Ministers and Boards. The driving of farmers, mechanics, missionaries and teachers from Kentucky, the hanging of innocent men in Texas, together with all the blood at Harper's Ferry, lie at the door of conservatism. Had John Brown seen the great mass of ministers and benevolent societies bearing a faithful testimony against this iniquity, he never would have felt himself called to the perilous work he undertook.

He would have had confidence in the power of truth, and could he have seen it applied with religious fidelity, he would have had an assurance of its final triumph.

Had the Home Missionary Society, in its early efforts in the South; had the Am'n. Tract Society, and other Societies been faithful in bearing a constant and explicit testimony against the iniquity, stripping it of all decent morality, decent men would have driven it out, instead of the reckless now driving out those who bear testimony against it. Under such general teaching, public sentiment would have been very different from what it now is; public sentiment governs.

It may be said, had these Boards at first bore a faithful, explicit, and consistent testimony against the iniquity they too would have been driven out: we answer, the Hercules of slavery was then a babe, and could have been easily strangled while in the cradle. But it would be better that the South should be without a Ministry, than that it should have a Ministry to deceive the people as to the true nature of the Gospel, and of that which is essential to salvation, love, without which all else is sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. Better without a ministry, than with one which shall nourish these Druses, merciless and cruel as those of Syria.

But we are not without hope, even buoyant hope. Seed has already been sown that will germinate and bring forth good fruit. The world will yet see it. God has promised that those who go forth weeping, bearing precious seed—unadulterated truth—shall doubtless come again bringing their sheaves with them.

Even now, our wandering in exile, will do a hundred fold more to show the turpitude of slavery, and rouse the people, North and South, to a holy purpose to remove it, than our quiet presence could have done, especially if we had been connected with conservative Boards.

John did more for the truth of God, and the good of man, as an exile in Patmos, than he could have done to have remained quiet, even if he had been at the Court of Rome. John returned, and we expect to, and the walls of Jerusalem will go up faster than at first.

We need the efforts of Associations like yours, for the North as well as the South. Many I know, are hoping that political action will do the work. Mere political action will not, cannot. Public sentiment must be changed first. The mere politician will not do this. The work must be done by those imbued with the spirit of Christ, whether in the Church or out of it,—the spirit that forgets self, forgets position, that will become poor, for the riches of others—sink into the depths for the sake of elevating others. This Christian influence preceded the great work of emancipation in ancient Rome, in the British possessions, and has, thus far, in our own country.

As I have been traveling in some of the free States, I have invariably found the political type answering exactly to the religious. If, in any locality, ministers and societies were conservative,—quiet on the subject of slavery—there politicians were the same. They wanted it distinctly understood that they were not Abolitionists—that they had nothing to do with slavery,—they wanted no allusion even to non-extension, unless it was to have "free Territory for FREE WHITE MEN." They were as selfish as a set of opium smoking, ease loving Turks.

But if I went into a community where ministers and churches held up the truth of God specifically against all sins, where the people were taught that the groans of the slave were the groans of Christ in the person of his poor, and that what they did for the poor slave, they did for Christ, there I found the people ready not only to hear the "moral question," but ready to vote for men of sound moral principle, for men not only ready to shut in slavery, but to do all they righteously could, for its entire extinction—the redemption of the last bondman.

True christian sentiment must precede right political action. The church is to be the light of the world, the salt of the earth. God has so declared it.

May the friends of the pure and faithfully applied gospel, work with redoubled zeal, and give with a munificent hand.

JOHN G. FEE.

P. S.—The way is now opening in Kentucky, for the return of the exiles, and soon I believe many places will be open for the preaching of a pure and free gospel. There are places where this is now being done, and others where it could be. Reactions generally follow gross outrages.

J. G. F.

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1860.

THE CONSTITUTION—VIEWS OF THE FRAMERS—PREPOSTEROUS INFERENCES FROM THEM.

The quotations often made from "the framers of the Constitution" and others in proof of the "pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution"—if properly considered, and compared with the Constitution itself, afford strong evidence in precisely the opposite direction.

Some of those quotations are taken from what was said in the Federal Convention, and only show the views and feelings of the speakers, as individual members, and tell us how they would have liked to have had the Constitution drafted and adopted. But we have to go to the Constitution itself, and take its words, precisely as they stand, in order to see whether or no these individuals succeeded in their endeavors to shape the Constitution according to their own wishes. If the words of the Constitution do not, of themselves, convey, precisely and unambiguously, the same ideas that are conveyed by the words quoted from what they said in the debate, then the fair inference is that they did not succeed, but that the Convention, having clearly understood their intentions, refused to give them effect, in refusing to make use of the words and phrases appropriate for the purpose.

Others of these quotations are taken from what certain members of the Federal Convention said, afterwards, in the State Conventions, held to act on the question of ratifying the Federal Constitution, or previous to those Conventions with a view of influencing their action. Here, they would naturally express such views as would naturally tend to produce the results they desired, either the rejection or the acceptance of the Constitution. Such of them as desired its acceptance would naturally give it a construction in accordance, at once, with their own wishes, and the wishes of those whom they were addressing—also in accordance with the views they had before expressed, in the Federal Convention. Here again, the correctness of their representations is to be tested in no way but by comparing them with the words of the Constitution itself, just as they read. If the language does not bear out their representation of the intentions of the Convention, then those representations are not to be received. They are to be regarded as the representations of prejudiced and interested persons. Nothing can be plainer than this.

The fact, then, if it be so, that there were men in the Federal Convention who were desirous of introducing compromises in favor of slavery, and who actually made suggestions looking in that direction, is a fact that, properly considered, makes it certain that no such compromises were actually admitted, unless it can be made to appear that they are plainly and unequivocally expressed in the words of the Constitution itself.

If, for example, it be proved that there were persons in the Convention, desirous of having a clause inserted for the rendition of fugitive slaves, and making proposals to that effect, then, if it be found, on examination, that there is no clause, plainly and unambiguously providing for that specific thing, then, we say, the fact that such a thing had been proposed, makes it the more evident that nothing of the kind was intended by the majority, who determined upon the language.

Upon the same principle of exposition it is, that we determine that, since in the deliberations for framing the Old "Articles of Codfederation," some one proposed to insert the word "white" before "inhabitants" in one of the provisions of that instrument, in which that word "white" is not found, the record of the attempt to put it in there, is the unmistakable record of the fact that the authors of that instrument refused to make any distinction on account of color.

Take a parallel case from common life. Two or more persons are in consultation together upon the terms of a certain partnership agreement between them. One of the number, Mr. A. B., proposes a certain provision in his own special favor. The fact of that proposal is on record, and is not disputed. The agreement is drawn up, read, talked over, and signed by them all. Afterwards the heirs of Mr. A. B.

come forward and claim that he was entitled, by the agreement to a certain privilege in his own favor. The written agreement is hunted up, and the provision is sought for, but cannot be found in the instrument! "Nay," say the heirs of Mr. A. B., "but there was an understanding" to that effect, and in proof of it, see here, it is on record that our grandfather, Mr. A. B. actually made that claim, while the terms of the agreement were under discussion, and he never would have consented to sign the agreement without an understanding to that effect."

What would the other parties to the agreement say, in answer to a demand, and to an argument of this sort? Why, they would say, "See here. Your Grandfather, A. B., did sign this agreement. Here is his signature, well attested, in black and white. And the agreement contains nothing of the kind claimed. The fact on record that your grandfather made the claim, put by the side of the fact that the paper contains no such agreement, and put by the side of that other fact that your grandfather actually did sign the agreement without any such provision in it, so far from proving that there was any such "understanding" as you pretend, proves the exact contrary." Thus the parties would claim. Thus the lawyers would plead. Thus the Judges would charge the jury. And thus, an honest and intelligent jury would render verdict.

Just like this, precisely, are the chief arguments relied upon, whether by pro-slavery or anti-slavery men, to prove "the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution." They prove precisely the reverse of the proposition for the support of which they are adduced.

We have been led to make these remarks, at this particular time, from having read in the *Liberator* of October 26, an article of WENDELL PHILLIPS on "MR. SUMNER—THE CONSTITUTION AND THE MADISON PAPERS." Mr. Sumner in his great Speech in the Senate, had argued in favor of the anti-slavery construction of the Constitution, to a certain extent, though, unfortunately, not to the extent of giving to his argument the symmetry and self-consistency of the radical political abolitionists, with whom Mr. Phillips, on some occasions, declines to argue, on the ground that arguments on the Constitution "are unprofitable and useless," but he concluded, it seems, that there might be some "use" in entering the lists with Mr. Sumner.

Mr. Sumner, according to Mr. Phillips, had cited seven of the members of the Constitutional Convention, as having made utterances favoring an anti-slavery construction of the Constitution, namely, Gorham, Ellsworth, Randolph, Gerry, Morris, Madison, and Sherman. As an offset to these citations, Mr. Phillips proceeds to make a few citations from some of the same and other members, favoring the pro-slavery interpretation. Not very well satisfied, however, with his success in that operation he cuts the matter short by assuming the very point in debate, as follows:

"Well, what did the Convention do in this matter? They adopted the plan of counting three-fifths of the slaves—the very thing Mr. Morris disliked, and which he made these remarks to prevent! According to Mr. Morris, therefore slavery is now 'the most prominent feature in the aristocratic countenance of the Constitution,' and it does 'uphold domestic slavery.'"

This, it will be seen, was on the apportionment clause. Then, again, on the migration and importation clause, Mr. Phillips says:

"Well, what did the Convention do? They gave Congress power to tax such importation not 'exceeding ten dollars for each person,' which was agreed to, *nem. con.* (This only shows that no one spoke against the proposition, not that each one agreed to it, since the whole debate, and Sherman's and Madison's protest, were against Mr. Baldwin's motion, which, it is stated, passed just before in the same way, *nem. con.*) According to Mr. Madison and Mr. Sherman, then, the Constitution does recognize property in men; and Mr. Madison, in the 54th number of the *Federalist* distinctly asserts that "the Federal Constitution, therefore, decides with great propriety on the case of our slaves, when it views them in the mixed character of persons and property."

Now it happens—as any one can see, by referring to these clauses, that nothing is said of slaves, nor does the language describe slaves, but on the contrary speaks of "persons." "What the Convention did" was the very opposite of the statement of Mr. Phillips. The Convention declined doing any such thing, as their Document shows.

No marvel that Mr. Phillips very prudently and con-

scientiously closes his Review of Mr. Sumner, as follows:

"The reader will please observe, that I am not now arguing that the Constitution does view slaves as property, but only showing that the witnesses Mr. Sumner calls prove, when allowed to speak fully, just the opposite of what he claims; if their opinion is to be trusted, the Constitution does view slaves as property."

Begging Mr. Phillips' pardon, the testimony of the witnesses proves no such thing. If, as Mr. Phillips' citations seem to him to have proved, they said things looking in the direction of the pro-slavery construction, then the most that he can claim is, that their testimony, being self-contradictory, is not to be relied upon, one side or the other. And this sends us back again, to the words of the Constitution, which are free from the least tinge of pro-slavery.

The truth is, the testimony, as cited both by Sumner and Phillips, should all be claimed for the anti-slavery construction. If slave-holders and their sympathizers said anything against the pro-slavery construction—as they certainly did—the cause of liberty is entitled to it, of course. If they said anything on the other side, the absence of corresponding language in the instrument itself is evidence that their wishes were defeated. If Mr. A. B. testifies to an "understanding" in his own favor, not found in the written compact, his testimony in his own cause is to be ruled out of Court. But if Mr. A. B. in open Court, gives counter testimony, against his own claim, his testimony is of more weight than that of any other witness, to confirm the words of the written compact.

RIGHT OF SECESSION

The following scrap of history, taken from an article in one of our city Dailies will be interesting at the present time.

"New York was unwilling to accept that instrument [the Constitution] and join the Union which it created, unless she could terminate her connection with it at pleasure. Her proposal was to join for five or six years, with the right then to withdraw if she desired. Alexander Hamilton was inclined to favor the compromise, and wrote to Madison in regard to it, from Poughkeepsie July, 1788, in these terms:

"You will understand that the only qualification will be the reservation of a right to secede, in case our amendments have not been decided upon, in one of the modes pointed out by the Constitution, within a certain number of years, perhaps five or seven. If this can, in the first instance, be admitted as a ratification, I do not fear any further consequences. Congress will, I presume, recommend certain amendments to render the structure of the Government more sedate. This will satisfy the more considerate and honest opposers of the Constitution, and with the aid of them will break up the party."

"Yours, affectionately, A. HAMILTON."

And here is Madison's reply:

NEW YORK, Sunday evening.
"MY DEAR SIR: Yours of yesterday is this instant at hand, and I have but a few minutes to answer it. I am sorry that your situation obliges you to listen to propositions of the nature you describe. My opinion is that a reservation of a right to withdraw, if amendments be not decided on under the form of the Constitution within a certain time, is a conditional ratification; that it does not make New York a member of the new Union, and consequently that she should not be received on that plan. Compacts must be reciprocal; this principle would not in such case be preserved. The Constitution requires an adoption in toto and forever. It has been so adopted by the other States. An adoption for a limited time would be as defective as an adoption of some of the articles only. In short, any condition whatever must vitiate the ratification. What the new Congress, by virtue of the power to admit new States, may be able and disposed to do in such a case, I do not inquire, and I suppose that is not the material point at present. I have not a moment to add more than my fervent wishes for your success and happiness. The idea of reserving the right to withdraw was started at Richmond, and considered as a conditional ratification, which was itself abandoned—worse than rejection."

"Yours, JAMES MADISON."
"New York finally abandoned her claim, and 'adopted the Constitution in toto, and forever.' And so did all the other States. No one of them has any right to secede,—or to withdraw from the obligations and responsibilities of the Union. In the language of Judge Spencer Roane, President of the Electoral College of Virginia in 1808, 'it is treason to secede.'—N. Y. Times.

No Federal administration—no Federal Court, has ever admitted the right of secession. The suspicion of having contemplated it, in the "Hartford Convention" sealed the fate of the Old Federal Party, and the odium of it still rests upon New England. Gen. Jackson put his foot upon it, when it was attempted by South Carolina, and half his fame is the reward of his having done so.

A Constitutional right of secession, is an evident absurdity, and we believe, has never been seriously claimed. As a natural, original right it may be conceded, but it is a right

outside of the Constitution, identified with the right of Revolution, subject to the conditions of that right, and the exercise of which is to be justified only by the causes which would warrant the exercise of the right of Revolution.

If such causes exist, then, but not otherwise, should it be exercised—then, but not otherwise, should it be permitted to take place, except by mutual agreement—nor even thus, in contravention of moral right, or to evade the administration of justice and the protection of individual rights, which no compacts can ever compromise.

How IT WOULD WORK.—If two or three of the Southern States should secede from the Union, it would leave a Republican majority in both Houses of Congress—very much to the accommodation of Mr. Lincoln.

If there should be a repudiation of Northern claims, as has been proposed at the South, the punishment—richly deserved—would fall chiefly on the mercantile and manufacturing houses at the North that have so zealously chimed in with the plotters of disunion, encouraging them in maintaining their position, and inflaming all the elements of disunion by their fears, whether real or affected, for the security of the Union.

If there should be a financial crisis, a commercial depression, and a monetary panic, growing out of the political condition of the country, the blow would be felt most severely, by the capitalists, bankers, bank-stock holders, and heavy manufacturing and commercial houses, whose cupidity, servility, apathy, and selfishness will have proved the natural and procuring causes of the calamity they will suffer.

RUMORS.—We place no dependence on the thousand rumors of secession at the South—and of the supposed policy of the administration of Mr. Lincoln, his appointments, his cabinet, &c.—any farther than as such rumors may appear to have a foundation or plausibility in the nature of the case. Correspondents and Editors give us their conjectures, and we and our readers might as well do up our own conjecturing for ourselves.

Even when alleged facts are announced, as, for instance, of the resignation of Federal officials at the South, or at Washington, of the actual or contemplated seizure of U. S. forts, armories, &c., we deem it the safer course not to accredit or chronicle the alleged facts, until they shall have been confirmed or ascertained.

It may be very convenient, during a dearth of real news, to have recourse to the retailing of the imaginary or fictitious, but our readers would hardly thank us for occupying their time and attention with vagaries, soon to be dispelled as without foundation in truth.

NOTICE.

NEW YORK CENTRAL COLLEGE.

The winter term of this Institution commences on Wednesday, December 5th. Circulars sent on application.

N. B. Since, at present, no agents are employed to collect funds, money due on all subscriptions, and all donations may be forwarded directly to the Treasurer, Moses G. Smith. The public are cautioned against paying money, designed for the College, to any person not having a certificate of appointment as our agent, signed by the present President and Secretary, with the College seal attached, and dated subsequent to the date of this notice.

By order of the Trustees,

A. BAILY, President.

VICTOR KINGSLEY, Secretary.

McGrawville, Nov. 6, 1860.

Bro. GOODALL. In my article printed in the last *Principia*, in which I refer to Dr. Cheever's mission to England and say, "However inexpedient that mission may have been," &c., I did not intend to intimate that I considered the mission inexpedient, but was simply putting it on the ground of the opponents of the mission, arguing that it was even in that view, no justification for the opposition raised against it, under the circumstances, where the whole thought and energy of the church were required to maintain the struggle with the slave power alone. I entirely agree with you, in the opinion expressed in the note you appended to my article—that "the mission was altogether an expedient one."

D. PLUMB.

NEW YORK, Nov. 12, 1860.

LEWIS TAPPAN VERSUS MARSHALL RYNDERS.—Mr. Tappan and his grandson, Mr. Barney, having elicited all the testimony proving the assault of Mr. Rynders, have withdrawn their complaint, leaving the public to judge concerning the facts of the case, which is therefore dismissed by the Court.

CORRECTION.—In the WAY-MARKS No. XX, in our last paper, six lines from the close, instead of "will be promoted" read "will be prevented."

News of the Day.

FIRES. Two fires have recently occurred in our City, in which, though no buildings were consumed, considerable property was destroyed, and one life probably lost.

The Astor House. Broadway, took fire in the drying room of the laundry, a great panic seized the inmates, one man, Thomas Brady, a young Irishman, was so badly burnt, that it is feared he will not recover. Loss of furniture, damage to building, and to goods in the stores on the lower story, estimated at about \$10,000, mostly insured.

The large drug warehouse of Penfold, Parker & Mower No. 15 Beekman street, was discovered to be on fire Friday morning, between one and two o'clock. The firemen succeeded in confining the flames to the cellar, where the fire originated, and after a desperate struggle extinguished the conflagration. The loss is estimated at between fifty and one hundred thousand dollars, which is covered by insurance. The damage to the building was but trifling.

A SOUTHERN CHEEVER IN THE FIELD.

Says the N. Y. World:

Bildad Cheever (a southern branch of the C. family), dwells in the town of Lexington, State of South Carolina. B. C. feels a deep interest in the welfare of the country, and is, withal, not a little addicted to sarcasm. Incited by the first of these emotions, B. C. writes Mr. C. P. Pelham, editor of the *Columbia Guardian*, and desires C. P. P. to ask if B. C. can be heard in behalf of Mr. Lincoln and abolitionism in his "valuable paper." C. P. P. responds that B. C. can be heard, as he covets to be heard, if only the articles prove to be not incendiary in character. B. C. sends them the following.

APPEAL TO THE SOUTH.

Fellow-citizens, come and let us reason together. Why so much excited against the Black Republicans? All they ask of you is to free your slaves, and they will be satisfied. This done, and we are to have everlasting peace. There are but 4,000,000 of slaves, and at the outside they are not worth more than \$800 each, i. e., three thousand two hundred millions of dollars. Now, can it be that the South, rather than part with this pitiful sum, will wound the conscience of their Northern brethren and peril this glorious Union! Chivalry of the South, are your hearts set on filthy lucre? Surely not. Then, as soon as you gather in your crops (for we are not disposed to precipitate matters), set your negroes free—and let us all be once more knit together as a band of brothers.

BILDAD CHEEVER.

Which is pretty good for B. C., besides being not altogether barren of that which lubricates the wheels of this care-stricken world—humor. There is a good-natured allusion to "the raveled stocking of care" at the end, too. That playful allusion to the \$3,200,000,000 as a "small sum" is comfortable to consider in these panicky times.

RELIEF FOR SYRIA.—Wm. A. Booth, Esq., Treasurer of the Syrian Relief Committee here, has received a letter relative to the sufferings in Syria, signed by the American, British, and Prussian Consuls at Beyrout, on behalf of the Beyrout Syrian Relief Committee, they have been appointed a Committee of Correspondence. This letter shows that the most exact and economical use is made of the contributions made from this and other countries, and reveals an enormous amount of misery and want to be provided for during the winter that is setting in. The Secretary of the Committee here, Mr. Baird, says the Committee have received and forwarded \$20,000; but a far greater sum will be needed.—*N. Y. Tribune*.

DREADFUL EXPLOSION.—The steam propeller *Globe*, lying at Hale's dock, Chicago, exploded, Nov. '8, by which a number of citizens lost their lives, and much property was destroyed.

THE REV. MR. WILLET, supposed to have been hung in Texas on the same tree with his father-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Bewley, has arrived safely in Southern Kansas. He escaped with difficulty from his persecutors, and lived eight

days in the woods, with no food but nuts. Other fugitives from Texas are arriving in Kansas.

DIVORCE MADE EASY.—The following is the substance of a bill now before the Vermont Legislature:

"A divorce from the bonds of matrimony may be granted where either of the parties is an habitual drunkard; or shall have joined any religious sect or society which professes to believe the relation of husband and wife to be unlawful; or refuses to cohabit with each other for the space of three years."

According to the above provision, a wrangling or indifferent couple have but to agree to live apart for three years, and they are divorced for the asking.—*Tribune*.

ANOTHER SLAVER.—A Western correspondent of *The Providence Journal* gives the following account of the successful departure of another slave vessel for the African coast:

"Two or three months ago a man visited Mystic, Conn., to purchase some old whale-ships which were for sale there. His story was a plausible one. He had contracted to send several million feet of lumber to Australia, and, instead of having it freighted, he proposed to purchase a number of whalers, fill them with lumber, and, when they arrived, to sell them there. This seemed a good plan. He was advised to send his lumber to Mystic, as being cheaper than to take the ships to New York. To this he agreed as the best course. He purchased the ship *Romulus* for a few thousand dollars, and left. She remained at the wharf in Mystic until two or three weeks ago, when she sailed for New York. But she never reached that city, and nothing was known here of her whereabouts until last Saturday morning. On that day, a steam-tug, which had ostensibly come down to tow up to New York a new ship, just built at Mystic, took the *Romulus* in tow from Greenport, L. I., where she had been fitting out as a whale-ship. The captain said she had her try-works up, and her whale-boats ready to launch; but, what was an uncommon thing for a whaler, she had a Spanish captain and crew and an American captain and crew, with other appurtenances for the slave-trade.

FIRE IN BUFFALO.—The Clarendon Hotel in Buffalo has been burned. Several persons lost their lives. Loss of property estimated at \$120,000. Insurance, \$50,000.

THE IRON MOUNTAIN.—One of the Philadelphia Board of Trade excursionists, who, in company with a large delegation, is prospecting through the West with a view of drawing business to the Quaker City, gives the following description of the Iron Mountain, Mo.:

"One of the greatest curiosities of the State—indeed almost ranking with Niagara and the Mammoth cave for unique interest—is the Iron Mountain, which some of our party visited. It is eighty-six miles from St. Louis, reached by a railroad constructed by the owners of the land, or rather metal, but destined to be extended to Memphis. The chief formations are the Iron Mountain proper and the Pilot Knob. The former is a vast mass of specular oxide, its height above the valley being two hundred and twenty-eight feet, and its base covering an area of five hundred acres, which give 230,187,375 tons of ore. But besides the parts above the surface, on digging down one hundred and fifty feet, the ore is found still to continue, and how much deeper is not known. On the supposition that the size is the same, every foot of descent gives 3,000,000 tons of ore. The shape of this mountain is the upper half of an oblate spheroid. Its ore contains 68 per cent. of pure metal. There are three furnaces at the foot of the mountain, but only one now in operation. Pilot Knob, about three miles from the Iron Mountain, is 581 feet high, ascending conically to nearly a perfect apex. Its height is 581 feet, and it covers an area of 360 acres. The amount above the surface is calculated at 13,972,773 tons. There is no ore on the surface at the base, but about half way up the inclined plane it is blasted and quarried like granite. It is a silicious specular oxide, and contains 54 per cent. of pure metal. The party was vividly impressed with the wondrous extent and value of this great metallic deposit, which would be even more an incalculable mine of wealth than is the case now, if coal were near at hand. Unfortunately, either the ore must be conveyed to the coal, or vice versa.

KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN CIRCLE.—We find in *The Houston (Texas) Telegraph* of the 1st inst., an account of the movements of Gen. Bickly, President of the K. G. C.'s. The paper says:

"The order of the K. G. C. originated in the deep and settled hatred of the General to Abolitionists; and any mistaken philanthropist who could desire the freedom of the negro, even at the risk and shame of a servile insurrection. This hatred took possession of his bosom when he was only eleven years old, at which early age he saw his little brother and sister murdered by blacks, during a servile insurrection, urged on by Abolitionists. For thirty years he has nurtured those feelings, but it was only six years since he

began to revolve the prospect of uniting the whole South into a friendly military body, which should at all times be prepared to resist the encroachments of the Abolition hordes of the North, and by conquest add more Slave Territory to the Union, thus equalizing Southern and Northern representation in the National Congress. The order now numbers 150,000 men, and is daily increasing in number, power, and influence. Fifty thousand men can be concentrated in ten days at any given Southern point. No movements against Mexico will be made until after the result of the election is known, and the course of the South determined should it be adverse to her interests."

A peculiar case is now being tried by the Supreme Court, in session at Norwich, Conn., involving the question, "What constitutes a citizen?" The estate of R. Increase Stoddard, a quadroon, or person of quarter African blood, was levied on by the proper officers, and sold in payment of town taxes. Action is brought to recover the amount collected under the levy, upon the ground that the property was exempt from taxation by the provision of the statute which exempts the property of "persons of color." The question raised by counsel, and reserved by the Court below for the advice of the Supreme Court, is, whether persons of one fourth African blood come within the meaning of the statute as "persons of color." The *Bulletin* says that the question is one of considerable interest, as, if it is decided that the levy was proper, and the estate subject to taxation, it makes all persons of one-quarter African blood "citizens" under the Constitution, so that they may be admitted to all the privileges of an elector. The decision will be either that they are "persons of color," and, as such, exempt from taxation, or "white citizens," and, as such, entitled to the elective franchise.

In early life, Mrs. Edwin D. Morgan was a milliner, and Mrs. Nathaniel P. Banks a factory girl. Yet a prince of the royal house of England, and heir apparent to the throne, has danced with both these ladies, who afford such proof of the elevating character of republican institutions; and no doubt considered he was honored quite as much as they could be by the fact.—*The Papers*.

A pretty good story. But here is a better one.

There are hundreds—we hope thousands—of women among us, whose names, except perhaps on the lists of marriages and deaths, will never get into the newspapers, who, in early life, or during life, were milliners, factory girls, milk maids, house-keepers, &c., who will have done as much good in the world as either of the personages above mentioned, and who will, finally attain to higher and more permanent honors than to have danced with the heir apparent of an earthly throne.

[From the N. Y. Times.]

WASHINGTON, Friday, Nov. 9.

No apprehension exists in official quarters that any efforts will be made to seize the forts or other public property in the South, as no such movement would be tolerated by the authorities of the States in which they are located. The questions which now distract the people of that section being of great delicacy, nothing will be done by executive authority which would tend to exasperate the public mind against the General Government at this juncture, while, however, the President will perform his duty of duly enforcing the laws.

The resignation of the Federal officers at Charleston being contingent on the acceptance by the President, time will be allowed them to reconsider their action.

An erroneous report has prevailed that the President intends issuing a proclamation, but it will be remembered, that Gen. Jackson did not pursue such a course until South Carolina had passed the nullifying ordinance.

The Cabinet to-day held their first meeting since the Presidential election, but no question in connection with Southern events required formal action.

WASHINGTON, Sunday, Nov. 11.

The spasmodic excitement in our community received a new impulse, yesterday, with the news of the resignation of Senators Chesnut and Toombs, but this soon gave way to a feeling of gratification at the prospect of getting rid of Mr. Toombs. It is well known that he had contemplated resignation, whether Lincoln was elected or not. Every one expresses the hope that the report is true, although his family is now here, making arrangements for the winter. Mr. Chesnut's resignation would be a necessity, if South Carolina should secede; of which there seems to be some doubt, if the Convention be postponed till January.

RESIGNATION OF THE FEDERAL OFFICERS IN CHARLESTON.

To the Editors of the Charleston Courier:

The inquiry has been frequently made of me, "What will you do, if Lincoln is elected?" My reply has been, I will answer when the time comes. The time has come, and I now say, I will not serve under the enemy of my country, and whether South Carolina secedes, concedes, or submits, I will resign my office.

WM. C. COLCOCK,

Collector of the Port of Charleston.

MESSRS. EDITORS: As I do not desire that my friends and the community shall be in doubt as to my position as a Federal officer, I beg leave to say, I will not hold the office of Surveyor, or any other office, under a Black Republican President.

M. JACOBS, Port Surveyor.

MESSRS. EDITORS: The crisis in our affairs requiring a public expression from all holding Government office, I deem it due to myself to state my position. I can perceive nothing which requires officers of the Customs to retire from office at the present time. On the contrary, every consideration of the duty they owe to the community renders it obligatory upon them to defer their action. The retention of office is in aid of the community. Their retirement would practically suspend all commerce, and be equivalent to a blockade, as nothing could enter or leave the port.

I shall await the action of the State, and in any event shall stand or fall with her. Not being a leader in her councils, I await the call of those who are, and am ready, at a moment, to obey. Until that call be made, I see neither wisdom nor patriotism in any individual action on my part.

JOHN LAURENS, Naval Officer.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Nov. 7, 1860.

THE POSTMASTER REQUESTED NOT TO RESIGN.

SIR: In view of the announcements which has been made this morning of the resignation of many Federal officers, we desire to express our opinion that the interests of our State and community would be jeopardized by the resignation of the Postmaster here. We therefore request that you should not resign until the State assumes, in her sovereign capacity, the management of her postal arrangements.

CHARLESTON, Nov. 7, 1860.

Judge Magrath has resigned. It strikes us that this business of resigning offices will tend to check the mania of secession, in more ways than one. The public convenience requires the offices to be filled, and somebody will be glad enough to fill them. If all the "fire-eaters" could be induced to resign, retiring to private life, the offices might get into the hands of men whose influence would be in a contrary direction.—[ED. PRINCIPAL.]

THE SOUTH CAROLINA RESOLUTIONS.

The full copy of various resolutions noticed by telegraph as having passed the Legislature of South Carolina, is as follows:

ON CALLING A STATE CONVENTION.

1. *Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina in General Assembly convened,* That a Convention of the people of the State of South Carolina is hereby ordained to assemble, in the town of Columbia, for the purpose of taking into consideration the general welfare of the State, in view of her relations with the Northern States and the Government of the United States, and thereupon to take care that the Commonwealth of South Carolina shall suffer no detriment.

2. *And be it further Resolved,* That on the 22d day of November instant, and on the day following, the managers of elections for the several Election Districts in this State shall, after giving public notice, as in cases of elections for members of the Legislature, open the polls, and hold elections in their respective Election Districts for delegates to the said Convention, in all respects in the same manner and form, and at the same places as elections are now conducted for members of the Legislature. And all persons who are qualified and entitled by the Constitution and laws of the State to vote for members of the Legislature, shall be qualified and entitled to vote for said delegates to said Convention; and in case of any vacancy occurring by death, resignation, removal from the state, or refusal to serve, of any person elected a delegate to the said Convention, the presiding officer of said Convention shall issue his writ, authorizing and requiring the managers of election in the Election Districts in which such vacancy may have occurred, after giving due notice thereof, to open a poll, and hold an election to fill such vacancy, as in cases for the election of members of the Legislature.

3. *And be it further Resolved,* That such Election District throughout the State shall be entitled to elect and send to the said Convention a number of Delegates equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives which such Election District is now entitled to send to the Legislature, and the delegates to the said Convention shall be entitled to the same freedom of arrest in going to, returning from, and while in attendance on said Convention, as is extended to the members of the Legislature.

4. *And be it further Resolved,* That all free white male citizens of this State of the age of twenty-one years and upward, shall be eligible to a seat in said Convention.

5. *And be it further Resolved,* That the delegates elected to said Convention shall assemble at the State Capitol on the seventeenth day of November next.

6. *And be it further Resolved,* That the delegates who shall attend the said Convention, shall be authorized to receive from the Treasurer the same pay and mileage as members of the General Assembly of this State now receive. That said Convention may be continued by adjournment from time to time, so long as may be necessary for the purposes aforesaid: Provided however, that, unless sooner dissolved by their own authority, the said Convention shall cease and determine in two

years from the day on which the said Convention shall first assemble.

ON CONFERENCE WITH OTHER STATES, AND PROVIDING ARMS.

Resolved, As the sense of this General Assembly, that the election of a Black Republican to the Presidency of the United States, will be the triumph and practical application of principles incompatible with the peace and safety of the Southern States.

Resolved, That a Commissioner be elected by joint ballot of the Senate and House of Representatives, whose duty it shall be, in the event of Mr. Lincoln's election, to proceed immediately to Milledgeville, the seat of Government of the State of Georgia, whose Legislature will then be in session, to announce to the Government of that State, that South Carolina, in view of the impending danger, will immediately put herself in a state of efficient military defense; and will cordially co-operate with the State of Georgia in measures for the protection of Southern interests; and to express the readiness of this State to co-operate with the State of Georgia, in the event of Mr. Lincoln's election, in withdrawing at once from the Confederacy; and to recommend the calling of Conventions simultaneously in both States to carry this measure into effect, and to invite the co-operation of all the other Southern States, in withdrawing from the present Union, and forming a separate Southern Confederacy.

Resolved, That the Committee on the Military of the Senate and of the House of Representatives be instructed to meet during the recess, and to prepare a plan for arming the State, and for organizing a permanent Military Bureau; and that the said Committee be instructed to report by bill to their respective Houses, on the first day of the re-assembling of the General Assembly.

Resolved, That the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives be instructed to sit during the recess, and prepare a bill for raising supplies necessary to carry into effect the measures recommended by the Military Committee, and to report by bill on the first day of the re-assembling of the General Assembly.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested immediately to apply the \$100,000 appropriated by the last General Assembly to the purchase of arms.

Resolved, That, immediately after the election of the Commissioner to the State of Georgia, this General Assembly do take a recess until the third Monday, being the 19th day of November inst., at 7 o'clock.

ON INDEMNIFYING FEDERAL OFFICERS.

Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Assembly that the citizens of South Carolina, who have held offices under the General Government, should be indemnified against any pecuniary liability or loss they may incur in consequence of their resignation of such offices, on account of the election of the candidate for the Presidency of the Black Republican party.

ON RAISING MONEY.

Resolved, That the sum of one million dollars be raised for the use and defense of the State in this emergency, and that the Committee of Ways and Means be directed to inquire into the mode of raising this money.

[This was amended, and passed as follows:]

Resolved, That it be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs to inquire into the expediency of appropriating four hundred thousand dollars for purchase of arms and ammunition, necessary to put the State in a position of defense.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

The constitution of the South Carolina Legislature is such that it cannot claim to represent the popular vote of the State. Both the Senate and the House are distributed among the respective districts in a ratio compounded of the white population and the amount of taxes paid. The consequences is that a minority of the voters elect a majority in both Houses. The lower part of the State, in which the whites are greatly outnumbered by the slaves, thus preponderates as to all the matters of legislation over the upper districts, in which the white population are decidedly in the ascendancy. The Convention which has been authorized by the Legislature is open to the same objection. The different districts of the State are to send to it as many delegates as they are entitled to Senators and Representatives, thus in this body, as in the Legislature, giving the preponderance of political power to a minority.—*Tribune*.

LETTER TO GERRIT SMITH.

The following letter is honorable to the Committee of which Messrs. Sherman, Barlow and Phelps were members, as well as vindictory of Mr. Smith. His suits against both committee and newspapers are ended; and he has been able to pay his counsel liberally with the monies which the committee cheerfully and handsomely furnished to this end.

NEW YORK, October 25, 1860.

GERRIT SMITH, Esq., DEAR SIR.—About a year ago there was published over the names of thirty-one gentlemen, forming the Executive Committee of the New York Democratic Vigilant Association, an address which connected

your name with a "Central Association" for violent purposes, and with the invasion which had occurred a few days before at Harper's Ferry, in Virginia.

We are now convinced that there was no ground for such connection, and we therefore take this opportunity to make the correction and to express our regret for the error and for the wrong done to you.

It seems proper that we should also say that the address in question was chiefly compiled from articles in the news papers, and that before its publication we were assured that its statements were correct.

Yours very respectfully,

WATTS SHERMAN.
SAMUEL L. M. BARLOW.
ROYAL PHELPS.

EXCITEMENT IN CHICAGO.

CHICAGO, Monday, Nov. 12, 1860.

Considerable excitement was caused here to-night by the arrest by the United States Marshal of a negro woman, named Eliza, who escaped from Nebraska City, N. T., a short time since. The woman was claimed by Stephen T. Knuckles of Nebraska as a slave. The Marshal, in taking the woman to jail, was stopped in the street by an excited crowd of negroes, and was compelled to give the woman to the city police, who lodged her in the Armory for safe keeping. An effort will be made in the morning to take her to Springfield for examination before Commissioner Corneau. The streets in the vicinity of the Armory are crowded with negroes and some white persons, in a high state of excitement, who declare their intention to prevent the woman being taken away from the city.

LATER ACCOUNT.

CHICAGO, Tuesday, Nov. 13.

The fugitive slave excitement is ended. A warrant was issued late last night for the arrest of the woman claimed as a slave, for disorderly conduct, and placed in the hands of Deputy-Sheriff Anderson. In attempting to take her from the armory to the jail, she was rescued by a negro mob, and carried off.

EUROPE.

The screw Steamer *Bremen*, brings news from England to 31st of October.

FAILURE OF THE WARSAW CONFERENCE.

The *Daily News* says: "It is very generally asserted and believed that the failure of the Warsaw Conference mainly arose from the prominence given by the Czar to a revision of the Treaty of Paris—that being the main object of the policy of Russia."

The *Times* says that the cause of the breaking up of the interview was ostensibly on account of the illness of the Empress Dowager of Russia, but really because the terms on which the Emperors met each other were such as to render a protracted intercourse extremely undesirable.

WARSAW, Friday, Oct. 20.

It is stated that the Warsaw interview maintained to the last a purely personal character as regards both the Princes and their Ministers. At the interview, on Thursday last, no stipulation was made, no convention of any kind was concluded, nor was even a protocol drawn up.

AFFAIRS IN ITALY.

TURIN, Saturday Oct. 27.

The official *Gazette* maintains that the Pontifical prisoners are treated with generosity and solicitude.

NAPLES, Saturday, Oct. 27.

King Victor Emanuel has arrived at Teano.

An engagement took place yesterday between the fourth corps d'armee and the Neapolitan Royalists. After a combat of two hours the latter fell back upon Gangliano, leaving a great number of prisoners in the hands of the Piedmontese.

To-morrow the Court of Cession will proclaim the result of the voting on the question of annexation.

NAPLES, Sunday evening.

The official return of the voting on the question of annexation, in the cities and provinces of Naples, was as follows:

Ayes.....185,468 Noes.....1,607.
In the other provinces the votes are equally favorable to annexation.

LATEST ITALIAN NEWS.

TURIN, Tuesday, Oct. 30.

Emanuel had arrived at Sessa. Garibaldi had gone to the head-quarters of the King.

SESSA, Tuesday, Oct. 30.

After the concentration of the Sardinians yesterday, a reconnaissance was made by the Sardinians on the left bank of the Gurigliano.

NAPLES, Saturday, Oct. 29.

Garibaldi and Emanuel, whose military operations are now combined, are preparing for a battle with the enemy. Victor Emanuel is, nevertheless, expected to enter Naples on the 30th. Great preparations are being made for his reception.

Naples, Tuesday, Oct. 3.—The result of the voting in the Kingdom of Naples, with the exception of two provinces, from which are still wanting, are as follows: Ayes 1,102,499; Noes, 9,371.

ROME, Saturday, Oct. 27.—Lamoriciere has been created a Roman noble.

AUSTRIA DECLARES HER INTENTIONS.

According to instructions received from Count Rechberg, Prince Metternich has explained to M. Thouvenel the Austrian policy.

His explanation contains four points:

1. The interior policy of every State being intimately connected with its exterior policy, Austria will fulfill with sincerity the reforms announced in the "Diplom" of Oct. 20.

2. Notwithstanding the complications in Italy, Austria will maintain her line of defensive policy. The present armaments and concentration of troops in Venetia have no other object than that of repelling any attack.

3. Austria will not abandon the system of non-intervention.

4. Austria considers that the assembling of a Congress would not bring about a practical solution of the Italian question, unless the great Powers agree, beforehand, on a common programme, of which, however, there is little likelihood.

GERMANY.

FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN, Sunday, Oct. 29.

In yesterday's sitting of the Federal Diet the notice given by Sardinia of the blockade of Ancona was discussed. The Assembly resolved upon simply shelving this notice, declaring at the same time that they could not altogether agree with the policy of Sardinia in Italy.

The Federal Diet resolved in the same sitting upon the expediency of equipping the Federal fortresses with rifled guns, and declared that it gratefully accepted the offer of Prussia in reference to this new kind of armament.

SPAIN.

MADRID, Sunday, Oct. 28.

Marshal O'Donnell has declared that the Government of Morocco has only asked for a longer delay for the payment of the war indemnity.

Rios Rosos is about to proceed to Rome on a mission; but that Spain is resolved to observe strict neutrality as regards the affairs of Italy.

ITALY.—A large and promising field of Christian labors has been opened by the recent movements in this country, and in carrying forward the work of evangelization, great responsibility is of necessity incurred by the Waldensian Church. We copy some extracts from the letter of Dr. Revel, which was recently received from La-Tour, and in which he appeals for aid to support colporters and to meet the expenses of worthy but indigent students in the Theological Seminary. Dr. Revel says:—

"It is certainly a surprising thing, that in this Italy, but yesterday hermetically sealed against the pure light of the gospel, it is now permitted to spread the word of God every where, except at Rome and its environs, where the so-called Holy Father is making his last efforts to shut it out. The Bible colporters who are now going through the Sardinian States, exceed thirty in number. We give to our colporters and Bible-readers from 80 to 100 francs per month; that is, from \$192 to \$240 per year. If our friends in America would be disposed to aid us in this particular work, by contributing the salary of one or more colporters, they would certainly render us an essential service. Do you not believe, dear and respected Dr., that there are among your friends, members of the American and Foreign Christian Union, some who would be disposed to devote their gifts of Christian charity to the procurement of scholarships for some of our students in theology, who are not able, from the resources derived from their families, to meet the expenses of their education which they would be obliged to incur in such a city as Florence? We will have during the coming winter at least six of these young men, who will be destitute of means sufficient to pay their board, as this will be raised to \$200 a year."—*Boston Tract Jour.*

LIEBIG says: "Give me the amount of soap a people use, and I will make an accurate estimate of their moral condition."

He is a brave man who isn't afraid to wear old clothes until he is able to pay for new ones.

NOBLE spirits rejoice in the consciousness of a motive—base ones delight only in a pretext.

Family Miscellany.

[ORIGINAL.]

"LOVE NOT THE WORLD."

I. John II. 15 17.

Love not the world, nor all the stores
Of hoarded wealth the world contains,
Its sparkling gems, its shining ores,
Its thrones of power, its pomp, its gains.

Love not the world, its pleasures base,
Its sickle honors, empty shows,
Forbear to join the mad'ning chase,
That finds no goal of true repose.

Who loves the world and on it dwells,
Whose heart is set on things below,
Toss'd by the waves on which he floats,
The Father's love can never know.

For all the good the world conveys
The fleshly lust, the pamper'd ease,
The glistening eye, the sensual gaze
That grasps and covets all it sees,

The pride of life, the princely state,
These are not of the Father's love,
But of the world of sin and hate,
At war with all the powers above.

The world is passing swift away,
Its lust is like the ebbing tide;
But he that doth his God obey,
Shall with him evermore abide.

W. G.

Feeding on Vanities. Isa. xlix. 8.

The sleeping sluggard dreams he eats,
But wakes, to feel his hunger still,
So he that feasts on vain deceits
Shall ne'er his soul with fatness fill.

W. G.

THE RIGHT SIDE OF FIFTY.

If Christians oftener cherished the hopes of the Apostle, and felt, like him, that to die is gain, they would talk like Mr. Venn, in the following anecdote: It is said of the humble Mr. Venn, is one of his excursions to preach for the Countess of Huntingdon, that he fell in company with a person who had the appearance of a parish clergyman. After riding some time together, conversing on different subjects, the stranger, looking in his face, said:

"Sir, I think you are on the wrong side of fifty."

"On the wrong side of fifty!" answered Mr. Venn. "No, sir, I am on the right side of fifty."

"Surely," replied the clergyman, "you must be turned of fifty."

"Yes, sir," added the Christian veteran, "but I am on the right side of fifty, for I am nearer my crown of glory."

Happy that person who can thus feel; who has the right to believe that he is nearer his crown of glory. How feelings like these would cause us to rejoice, as year by year passes away, and our salvation becomes nearer.

ROSA'S BIRTHDAY.

One afternoon, Rosamond Hamilton and her aunt Fanny were alone in the parlor. Rosa had brought her little chair close to the rocking-chair I was sitting in, and was telling me about a little playmate of hers. All at once she exclaimed:—

"O Aunt Fanny! to-morrow is my birthday; to-morrow I shall be six years old! Are you not so glad, Aunt Fanny?"

"Yes I am to see you so happy in view of it? But, Rosa, if I were you, I would make to-morrow a very happy birthday, the happiest birth-day you have ever had. You can if you wish to."

"How, Aunt? I do wish to."

"Well, my dear girl, as we grow older we want to grow better; and if I were you, I would resolve, when I was six years old, to control my temper. A little girl so old as that, can surely govern herself. That naughty temper, when it rises, makes you very unhappy and very disagreeable to your friends; and now that you are beginning a new year of your life, would it not be well to try and subdue it? If, on your sixth birthday, you should begin to be sweet-tempered, gentle, and thoughtful, would it not be a very happy birth-day."

"Yes, Aunt; but I can not help getting angry sometimes. People do such provoking things, and make me angry."

"No, Rosa, they do not make you angry. They perhaps tempt you to be; but temptation can be resisted. All good persons are tempted to do wrong, and it is because they do not yield to temptation that they are good. It is very hard to be good when you are tempted; but you know God can give you strength, and that he will, if you really wish him to, help you to be good."

CAUSES AND CURE OF POVERTY.

NUMBER IX.

MANIA OF SPECULATION IN AMERICA.

As the mania of speculation in Europe was excited by bewildering dreams of fabulous wealth, in the New World, it might naturally be expected that the sudden emigration to this country, of the most adventurous and enterprising of the European population would be likely to transfer the same spirit of extravagant expectations to the New World itself, the object and the theatre of their enterprises.

Such was the fact. And this spirit was perpetually stimulated by the continuous recurrence of circumstances calculated to draw it forth, and to furnish plausible grounds for its indulgence. The truth of the case is, the growth, expansion, and increased wealth of the adventurers, in the main, has been an almost unprecedented fact in the world's history. It was no fault of the emigrants and of their successors that they knew and appreciated this fact. The mischief was, that great as was the advance, in growth, expansion, and increased wealth, the human imagination was found adequate to the task of magnifying the rapidity, extent, and magnitude of this advancement, thirty, forty, fifty, or an hundred fold. "Rapidly as did the real value of the new lands increase, the anticipation of the increase, progressed still more rapidly. Not content to realize an almost unexampled increase, in a short period, the adventurers were eager to grasp, in anticipation, a still more rapid increase. The greater and the more rapid the increase, the greater the desire for a still larger and more rapid increase. The real advance did not satisfy the desire, and hence the imaginary one.

And this was not all. The passion for becoming rich by the rise of property, rather than by the pains-taking and patient process of hard labor became so intense and so all pervading, that nothing but the stern demands of nature for the immediate supply of food, clothing and shelter, prevented the masses of the settlers, in some localities, from turning speculators rather than laborers, and reaping the harvests of famine when they were looking for those of affluence.

As it was, the number of speculators, who directed their attention, and occupied their time, and appropriated their capital or strained their credit for the acquisition of new lands, which they never expected to cultivate themselves, greatly increased, and became sadly disproportionate in numbers and in resources, to the actual laborers in the double task of clearing away the forests, building habitations, and producing crops for the support of human life. Much of the suffering incident to the settlement of new countries has originated or has been greatly aggravated by this cause. Close on the heels of exhilarating reports of prosperity, inviting new adventurers into the field, to buy and to settle the lands offered for sale, (reports exaggerated, often, by the cupidity of the speculators themselves) come startling rumors of destitution, want, and even of famine.

LAND SPECULATION, has been the curse of this North American Continent from the beginning, and continues the curse still. The monopoly of land, in the hands of the speculator, compels the actual settler to pay a price for land that he ought to have received without pay, for the labor of clearing it. The cities and populous districts of the older States have thousands of families who are without employment, at home, or the means of buying lands at the west, on which to labor. Millions of acres, in the hands of Speculators are kept from cultivation because the owners are waiting to make fortunes by selling at double the present prices. From this cause the supply of agricultural products for the eastern markets does not keep pace with the increasing population of the cities and villages, and the prices to the laboring poor are greatly enhanced, especially from the fact that the limited supply places it within the power of the provision speculators of whom we have before spoken, to monopolize them, and place their own prices upon them, for their own emolument, without benefit either to the producer or the consumer.

In these and other ways, the speculation in land, and land monopoly, lead to and sustain other speculations and monopolies, tending to withdraw from the laborer his hard earnings to enrich those whose activities and operations are a public nuisance.

The effect on the land speculators themselves is much the

same as on other classes of speculators and gamblers. Only a small portion of them escape the common fate of those, who, for a time, acquire wealth without paying for it a fair equivalent. Few fields of speculation are more whitened with the bones of the speculators than this. Few branches of speculating adventure are more hazardous than speculations in land, when the interest, taxes, and other expenses are taken into the account.

If the history of land speculation in central and western New York could be truthfully written, it would be a record of wretchedness, lamentation, mourning and woe; the record of thousands of families wasted and worn to death by hard labor, in paying for their lands, or what is worse, driven from them into want and penury, before completing their payments:—the history, moreover of ruined speculators with their families, sharing the fate of their victims.

The process of land speculation was well described by Alvan Stewart who said it was the attempt of the present generation to become rich by levying a tax, without an equivalent, upon the generation that should come after it—a scheme for cheating the unborn out of the fruit of their labors.—Such a scheme must produce poverty, of course.

Here, as elsewhere, the Bible maxim, "He that hasteth to be rich shall not be innocent," has been found truthful. Land speculators have not, commonly, been found proof against the allurements of gambling in other directions.

We know of several remarkable instances in which large land speculators have become gamblers for money, in the common acceptance of the term, and in the use of cards and dice. The passion for speculation, when it becomes a mania must needs be gratified. And the long intervals of painful suspense, in the slow processes of land gambling, are peculiarly fitted to drive the victim of the mania, headlong, into other and more rapid processes of gambling. The restlessness of land speculators becomes chronic and is proverbial.

Speculating in land, and the land monopoly that comes with it, constitute, in some respects, the worst kind of speculation and monopoly. The earth, like the air, was given to mankind in common. No absolute and permanent transfer of land was allowed in the law of God given by Moses. The use only could be transferred, for a limited period, for payment of honest debts, and even that was to cease with the Jubilee, and the land returned to the family of the original possessors.

Among the causes of poverty, land speculation and monopoly stand pre-eminent, and the cure of poverty must include a return to the divine law that prohibits them.

COUNT THEM.

Count what? Why, count the mercies which have been quietly falling in your path through every period of your history. Down they come every morning and every evening, as the angel messengers from the Father of Lights, to tell you of your best friends in heaven. Have you lived these years, wasting mercies, treading them beneath your feet, and never yet realized from whence they came? If you have, Heaven pity you.

You have murmured under afflictions, but who had heard you rejoice over blessings? Do you ask what are these mercies? Ask the sunbeam, the rain drop, the star, or the queen of night. What is life, but mercy? What is health, strength, friendship, social life, the Gospel of Christ, Divine worship? Had they the power of speech, each would say, "I am a mercy." Perhaps you have never regarded them as such. If not, you have been a dull student of nature or revelation.

What is the propriety of stopping to play with a thorn bush, when you may just as well pluck sweet flowers, and eat pleasant fruit?

Yet we have seen enough of men to know that they have a morbid appetite for thorns. If they have lost a friend, they will murmur at the loss, if God has given them a score of new ones. And somehow, everything assumes a value when it is gone, which a man would not have acknowledged when he had it in his possession, unless indeed, some one wished to purchase it.

Happy is he who looks at the bright side of life; of Providence, and of revelations; who avoids thorns, and thickets, and sloughs, until his Christian growth is such that if he cannot improve them, he may pass among them without injury. Count mercies, before you complain of afflictions.

MARRIAGE.

Marriage is, to a woman, at once the happiest and saddest event of her life; it is the promise of future bliss, raised on the death of present enjoyment. She quits her home, her parents, her companions, her amusements—everything on which she has hitherto depended for comfort, for affection, for kindness and for pleasure.

The parents by whose advice she has been guided—the sister to whom she has dared to impart the very embryo thought and feeling—the brother who has played with her, by turns the counsellor and the counselled, and the younger children to whom she has hitherto been the mother and playmate—all are to be forsaken at one fell stroke—every former tie is loosened—the spring of every action is changed; and she flies with joy in the untrodden paths before her, buoyed up by the confidence of requited love, she bids a fond and grateful adieu to the life that is past, and turns with excited hopes and joyous anticipation to the happiness to come. Then woe to the man who can blight such fair hopes—who can treacherously lure such a heart from its peaceful enjoyments, and watchful protection of home—who can coward-like, break the illusions which have won her, and destroy the confidence which love had inspired.

Woe to him who has too early withdrawn the tender plant from the props and stays of moral discipline, in which she has been nurtured, and yet makes no effort to supply their places; for on him is the responsibility of her errors—on him who first taught her, by his example, to grow careless of her duty, and then exposed her with a weakened spirit and unsatisfied heart, to the wild storms and the wily temptations of a sinful world.

SOME ONE MUST PRAY.

A man of learning and talent, but an unbeliever, was travelling in Manila on a scientific expedition. He was escorted by a native, and, as they were about to start, the native, with the refined politeness which characterizes the Orientals, requested the white stranger to pray to his God.

This was probably the only thing he could have been asked to do, without being able to comply; and on his declining, the native said;

"Well, some God must be prayed to, so you will excuse me, if I pray to mine."

"Full many a shaft at random sent
Finds mark the archer never meant."

So it was in this case. The unbeliever was rebuked by a heathen, and the man of science, who had gone there in quest of natural curiosities, returned having found the "pearl of great price." His next visit is to be as a missionary to preach Christ.

Wisdom is always at home to those who call.

WRITINGS OF WILLIAM GOODELL.

For sale at the office of the Principia: FOR CASH ONLY.

DEMOCRACY OF CHRISTIANITY, 2 Vols., \$1 50..... Postage 40 cts.
SLAVERY AND ANTI-SLAVERY (History of) 1 Vol., \$1 00 Postage 32 c.
AMERICAN SLAVE CODE, 1 Vol., \$0 75..... Postage 16 c.

OUR NATIONAL CHARTERS.
FOR THE MILLIONS.

I. The Federal Constitution of 1787-9.
II. The Articles of Confederation, 1778.
III. The Declaration of Independence, 1776.
IV. The Articles of Association, 1774.

With notes showing their bearing on slavery, and the relative powers of the State and National Governments. By WILLIAM GOODELL.

A summary of *Legal Rules of Interpretation and Legal opinions*, collected from the highest authorities, is prefixed to the Constitution. AN APPENDIX contains extracts from State Constitutions, and Bills of Rights—Ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from the Northwest Territory; also, sentiments of the Revolutionary fathers, &c.

Price, Single Copies, 12 cents; if by mail, 15 cents, and at the same rate for any number short of 8 copies.

Eight copies, by mail, \$1.00, or 75 cents, at the Office.
Twelve copies, by mail, \$1.36, or \$1.00 at the Office.
Eighteen Copies, by mail, \$2, or \$1.46 at the office.
Twenty-seven copies, by mail, \$3, or \$2.19 at the office.

For sale by WILLIAM GOODELL, or M. B. WILLIAMS, Office of the Principia, 339 Pearl Street, New York. TERMS, CASH, always in advance.

N.B. All postages on Books, Pamphlets, and Tracts, must be paid at our Post-Office in advance, so that we cannot answer orders, as above, without having received the postage money, as well as the price of the publication.

Also, for sale as above,

Spooner's Unconstitutionality of Slavery.

In paper covers, price 75 cents, postage 13 cts.; in cloth, \$1.00, postage 19c.

We have no books, pamphlets, or tracts for sale, except those advertised, above, and it is not convenient for us to receive orders for any others.

D. D. NICHOLSON, PRINTER, 199 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK.